

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL DURBAN

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AMMEMBASSY LONDON 2217

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 PRETORIA 3594

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: WA, PINT

SUBJ: NAMIBIA DEVELOPMENTS

REFS: CAPE TOWN 754, STATE 192290, PRETORIA 3528,
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1. SUMMARY: DIRK MUDGE BELIEVES INTERIM MULTIRACIAL GOVERNMENT FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA OFFERS BEST HOPE OF BUILDING CONFIDENCE WHICH CAN LEAD TO DURABLE CONSTITUTION. DESPITE INCREASING ATTACKS AGAINST MUDGE AND IDEA OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT BY CONSERVATIVE MINISTERS OF SAG, MUDGE FEELS HE CAN WIN LEADERSHIP OF SWA NP AT CONGRESS AUGUST 24, FOLLOWING WHICH WHITE DELEGATION COULD SUPPORT INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE FULL POWERS IN SOME AREAS. MUDGE WOULD INCREASINGLY CUT SWA ADRIFT FROM SOUTH AFRICA MOVING

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TOWARD TOTAL INDEPENDENCE IN A FIXED TIME FRAME OF ABOUT

TWO YEARS. HE IS HOPEFUL OF EARNING SUPPORT OF US, BRITAIN AND GERMANY IN PARTICULAR, WHILE MAINTAINING COURSE THAT WOULD NOT ENTIRELY ALIENATE SOUTH AFRICA. COURSE HE ENVISAGES DIFFERS IN SOME KEY ASPECTS FROM CURRENT RUMORS, AND COULD RUN AGROUND ON ANY OF SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT BARRIERS. END SUMMARY

2. DURING EIGHTY MINUTE PRIVATE DISCUSSION EVENING AUGUST 10, DIRK MUDGE, CHAIRMAN OF TURNHALLE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA NATIONAL PARTY, OUTLINED HIS VIEWS ON SITUATION AND PROSPECTS IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA TO POLCOUNS IN EXPECTATION THAT CANDID EXPOSITION WOULD ASSIST USG IN UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENTS IN WEEKS AHEAD. MUDGE SAID IT HAD BECOME CLEAR SOME MONTHS AGO FOLLOWING RETURN OF NP CHAIRMAN DU PLESSIS TO LEADERSHIP OF WHITE DELEGATION AT TURNHALLE THAT COURSE SET BY SAG AND SWA NP WOULD NEVER SATISFY BLACK ASPIRA-

TIONS AND WOULD LEAD TO COLLAPSE OF TALKS AND DOWNWARD SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE. THERE HAD BEEN GREAT PRESSURE ON HIM FROM LIBERAL WHITES AND MANY BLACKS TO RESIGN FROM NP, FORM NEW POLITICAL PARTY, AND ATTEMPT TO FORCE DIFFERENT COURSE. MUDGE HAD DECIDED AGAINST TAKING SUCH ACTION BECAUSE IT WOULD LEAD TO IRREPARABLE SPLIT IN SWA WITH SOUTH AFRICA BACKING MAJORITY OF WHITES, WHILE BLACKS AND FEW WHITE LIBERALS WHO WOULD HAVE FOLLOWED HIM AT THAT TIME WOULD HAVE NO REAL ABILITY TO INFLUENCE SITUATION. THIS WOULD LEAD TO CONFRONTATIONS FROM WHICH ONLY SWAPO COULD PROFIT. MUDGE HAD CHOSEN TO STAY WITHIN PARTY AND FIGHT TO GAIN CONTROL OF IT AT THE PROPER TIME, WHICH WAS NOW AT HAND.

3. ATTEMPTS TO DRAFT CONSTITUTION OR GUIDELINES DURING RECENT WEEKS HAVE SHOWN THAT EACH OF ELEVEN GROUPS WOULD SUBMIT DIFFERING DRAFTS. FEAR AND SUSPICION ARE PREVAILING DENOMINATORS, WITH WHITES AFRAID THAT ANY CONCESSIONS OF REAL POWER WOULD RESULT IN BEING OVERRUN BY BLACKS, AND BLACKS FEARFUL OF BEING DOMINATED BY THE LARGEST GROUP, THE OVAMBOS, AND CONVINCED THAT CLEVER WHITES WILL IN SOME WAY CONTRIVE TO CHEAT THEM. MUDGE HAS BECOME

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CONVINCED THAT ONLY POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF EFFORTS TO DRAFT CONSTITUTION NOW WOULD BE A "FRAGILE CONTRACT BETWEEN ENEMIES" WHICH WOULD NEVER LAST. THE MONTHS IT WOULD REQUIRE TO DRAFT SUCH A DOCUMENT WOULD ALSO SEE INCREASING FRUSTRATION AMONG BLACKS. FOR THIS REASON HE HAS CONCLUDED THAT THERE MUST SOON BE SOME REAL SHIFT OF POWER IN LIMITED AREAS TO A MULTIRACIAL INTERIM GOVERNMENT. WORKING TOGETHER IN AREAS WHICH HAVE SPECIAL IMPACT ON THE

LIVES OF BLACK CITIZENS CAN, MUDGE BELIEVES, BUILD CONFIDENCE AMONG BOTH BLACKS AND WHITES, ENABLING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MORE DURABLE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK IN A PERIOD OF TWO YEARS OR SO. COURSE ADVOCATED BY SAG AND CONSERVATIVE WHITES WOULD INVOLVE SEVERAL YEARS OF TALKS WITH NO TRANSFER OF POWER AND UNCERTAIN OUTCOME AT END, WHICH IS SIMPLY NOT ACCEPTABLE TO BLACKS AND CAN ONLY LEAD TO EXPLOSION.

4. MUDGE SEES EVENTS UNFOLDING AS FOLLOWS: "WITHIN A FEW DAYS" BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATIONS WILL INTRODUCE MOTION CALLING FOR FORMATION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF MULTI-RACIAL COMPOSITION BASED ON TURNHALLE MEMBERSHIP, WHICH WILL LEAD SWA TO TOTAL INDEPENDENCE IN A SET TIME FRAME OF APPROXIMATELY TWO YEARS OR A BIT MORE. INTERIM GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE BOTH EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS IN ALMOST ALL DOMESTIC FIELDS. ACTUAL TRANSFER OF POWERS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BY RELATIVELY SIMPLE ACT BY SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT WHICH WOULD, IN EFFECT, TURN OVER TO THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT ALL THOSE POWERS TAKEN OVER BY SAG UNDER PROVISIONS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA AFFAIRS ACT NO. 25 OF 1969. THIS WOULD BRING AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE JURISDICTION OF SAG BANTU AFFAIRS, AND COLORED, NAMA AND REHOBOTH ADMINISTRATION, IN ADDITION TO TRANSFERRING AUTHORITY IN OTHER IMPORTANT AREAS. (OUR QUICK READING OF ACT SHOWS 28 POINT SCHEDULE IN ACT INCLUDES NATIVE AFFAIRS, JUSTICE, COMMUNICATION, INFORMATION, INCOME TAX, WATER, MINING, CORPORATE LAW, AND CIVIL AFFAIRS WOULD BE INCLUDED.) MUDGE SAID TURNHALLE DELEGATIONS WOULD BE INVITED TO NOMINATE BLACKS FOR WIDE VARIETY OF GOVERNMENTAL POSTS IN EXPECTATION THAT NOT ONLY WOULD THEY THUS GAIN EXPERIENCE SO BADLY LACKING AT PRESENT, BUT WOULD BE IN POSITION TO MONITOR AFFAIRS OF GOVERNMENT

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IN WAY WHICH WOULD REASSURE THEM THAT THERE WAS NO CHEATING. WHITES IN TURN WOULD BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO WORKING WITH BLACKS AND AS COMMON GOALS WERE SOUGHT, BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PATTERNS OF COOPERATION.

5. MOTION FOR FORMATION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD HOPEFULLY HAVE SUPPORT OF ALL BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATIONS. NO FURTHER ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN ON IT, AT THE TURNHALLE AT THAT POINT, LEAVING POSITION OF WHITE DELEGATION AS THE REMAINING CRUCIAL ELEMENT. THIS WOULD BE DETERMINED AT AUGUST 24 NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS. MUDGE SAID HE HAD TWO PRINCIPAL OPPONENTS, THEN MODIFIED THIS TO SAY THERE WAS REALLY ONLY ONE, SINCE "AFTER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AS CHAIRMAN THERE SEEMED TO BE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE NEED FOR A CHANGE" IN CLEAR REFERENCE TO A.H. DU PLESSIS,

WHO HAS BEEN RUMORED READY TO STEP ASIDE. MUDGE, WITHOUT NAMING EBEN VAN ZIJL, ALSO A DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE SWA NP, SAID THAT THE ISSUES BETWEEN HIMSELF AND HIS OPPONENT WOULD HAVE TO BE CLEARLY DRAWN SO THAT THE NP WOULD HAVE TO MAKE A CHOICE. MUDGE SAID HE HAD THE SUPPORT OF "OVER 90 PERCENT" OF THE GERMAN COMMUNITY, MANY OF WHOM ARE NP MEMBERS, AND FELT CONFIDENT HE HAD THE SUPPORT OF "OVER 50 PERCENT" OF THE REMAINING WHITE COMMUNITY EVEN INCLUDING THE SOUTH AFRICAN CIVIL SERVANTS WHO ARE ENTITLED TO VOTE AS NP MEMBERS. MUDGE THOUGHT THAT THE OUTCOME WOULD BE CLEAR BY AUGUST 25, FOLLOWING WHICH THE FULL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WOULD BE CONVENED AND THE MOTION CALLING FOR AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PASSED. THE ENABLING LEGISLATION WOULD BE TAKEN UP BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT WHEN IT RESUMED NORMAL SESSION IN JANUARY, 1977, AND THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE IN PLACE WITHIN A MONTH OR TWO THEREAFTER.

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6. RESPONDING TO QUESTIONS ABOUT SAG ATTITUDE, MUDGE SAID THAT AS CONSEQUENCE "SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER," HE FELT THEY UNDERSTOOD EACH OTHER CLEARLY. BECAUSE OF HIS OWN POLITICAL PROBLEMS, VORSTER CANNOT ADVOCATE STEPS IN SWA WHICH CONFLICT WITH HIS OWN DOMESTIC POLICIES. ASSUMING THAT MUDGE IS SUCCESSFUL IN GAINING CONTROL OF SWA NP, "THE PRIME MINISTER WILL PUBLICLY DIS-AGREE WITH THE COURSE WE SET BUT HE WILL REMAIN TRUE TO HIS WORD AND GIVE US WHAT WE WANT." MUDGE'S COMMENTS IMPLIED THAT VORSTER HAD LEFT HIM ON HIS OWN TO TRY TO GAIN CONTROL OF NATIONAL PARTY MACHINERY IN SWA, CONVEYING THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WOULD NOT PERSONALLY INTERVENE. MUDGE COMMENTED "THE PRIME MINISTER KNOWS I WILL NOT EMBARRASS HIM." MUDGE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SOME MINISTERS DID NOT LIKE WHAT LAY AHEAD AND WERE OPPOSING THE IDEA OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY.

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UM MUDGE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF THE CAREFUL WORDING OF THE LUSAKA AND BOSTON SPEECHES BY SECRETARY KISSINGER, AND SAID HE EARNESTLY HOPED US, BRITAIN AND GERMANY WOULD FIND IT POSSIBLE TO SUPPORT COURSE OF ACTION HE WAS PROPOSING, WHICH HE FELT COULD BUILD A SOLID FOUNDATION FOR INDEPENDENCE AS ONE STATE WITHIN A SET TIME FRAME. MUDGE SAID THAT WHAT WOULD BE DONE WOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE DEMOCRATIC IN THE ACCEPTED SENSE OF THE WORD, AND THERE WOULD BE NO ELECTIONS FOR SOME TIME TO COME, BUT NEVERTHELESS THE RIGHT COURSE WOULD BE SET. A MULTIRACIAL GOVERNMENT MORE BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE AND WITH REAL POWER AND AUTHORITY SEEMED THE BEST VEHICLE FOR MOVING SWA TOWARD DURABLE INDEPENDENCE.

8. LATER THAT SAME EVENING MUDGE ADDRESSED A NATIONAL PARTY YOUTH MEETING AND DELIVERED THE MOST FORCEFUL STATEMENT OF HIS POSITION TO DATE. OBSERVERS TERMED IT "HARD HITTING AND UNPARALLELED IN WHITE POLITICS IN THE TERRITORY FOR ITS LIBERAL SENTIMENTS." MUDGE CALLED ON YOUTH TO WORK TO END HATRED AND DISCRIMINATION, AND FOR WHITES TO JOIN BLACKS WITH ENTHUSIASM IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. HE SAID TALKS BETWEEN THE TURNHALLE AND SWAPO COULD NOT BE RULED OUT, AND COULD BE PROFITABLE AND HAVE GOOD CONSEQUENCES. ALTHOUGH WHITES COULD "NOT BE EXPECTED TO COMMIT SUICIDE" IT WAS NECESSARY TO SATISFY BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL OPINION, AND TO EARN INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP AND GOODWILL IN THE SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. WITHOUT SPECIFICALLY NAMING VAN ZIJL, MUDGE CITED POINTS HE HAD MADE AND REPUDIATED THEM ONE BY ONE IN WHAT CORRESPONDENT CLIVE COWLEY TERMED A DECLARATION OF

WAR, WETTING THE STAGE FOR A FINAL SHOWDOWN BETWEEN HIM AND EBEN VAN ZIJL. MUDGE'S DECLARATION OF POSITIONS AT VARIANCE WITH SAG POLICY AND CLEAR ATTACK ON POLITICAL OPPONENTS WAS COMPLETELY UNEXPECTED. MOST LOCAL PAPERS AND CORRESPONDENTS HAD NOT BOTHERED TO ATTEND THE YOUTH MEETING, EXPECTING HIM TO HEW TO HIS PREVIOUS FINE LINE OF NOT TAKING STRONG EXCEPTION AND SEEKING TO MINIMIZE DIFFERENCES. THE EFFECT IN WINDHOEK BY LATE AFTERNOON AUGUST 11 WAS LITTLE SHORT OF ELECTRIFYING. THE SPEECH PLEASED MANY WHO HAD LONG URGED MUDGE TO SPEAK OUT STRONGLY,
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TENDED TO DAMP RUMORS THAT SOME SECRET DEAL HAD BEEN REACHED BETWEEN THE SAG, SWA CONSERVATIVES AND MUDGE, AND OPENLY JOINED BATTLE FOR CONTROL OF THE NATIONAL PARTY.

9. MOST OF THE NEWS STORIES OF RECENT DATE SEEM TO HAVE ORIGINATED FROM COLORED DELEGATES, MOST PROMINENTLY ANDREW KLOPPERS, CHAIRMAN OF THE COLORED COUNCIL, WHO CLAIMS TO HAVE BEEN WORKING HAND IN GLOVE WITH MUDGE THROUGHOUT THE CONFERENCE AND WHO APPEARS TO HAVE MOST OF THE PIECES, BUT NOT ALL. KLOPPERS SAID THAT DESPITE EFFORTS TO SPLIT THE BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATIONS, A SECRET CAUCUS AFTERNOON AUGUST 8 HAD INDICATED FIRM AGREEMENT ON MOTION FOR MULTIRACIAL INTERIM GOVERNMENT. OVAMBO COMMISSIONER JANNIE DE WET HAD APPEARED AT THE TURNHALLE ENERGETICALLY LOBBYING IN AN EFFORT TO SPLIT OVAMBOS, KAVANGOS AND CAPRIVIANS AWAY FROM OTHERS ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE. DE WET'S PRESENCE HAD BEEN CHALLENGED IN THE PRESS. KLOPPERS WAS UNEASY ABOUT THE POSSIBLE SUCCESS OF HIS EFFORTS. TWO OF THE LEGAL ADVISORS, VAN ROOYEN (OVAMBO DELEGATION) AND STEENKAMP (NAMA) HAVE BEEN PUBLICLY CHARGED WITH REPORTING TO PRETORIA OVER THE PAST WEEKEND, AND ARE NOW ACTIVELY SEEKING TO DESTROY ANY POSSIBLE MOTION FOR INTERIM GOVERNMENT. ANOTHER APPARENT INTERVENTION BY SAG CAME TO LIGHT WHEN IT WAS PUBLICLY REPORTED THAT SECRETARY FOR COLORED AFFAIRS MILLS HAD TRIED TO FORCE THE LEGAL ADVISOR OF THE COLORED DELEGATION, DR. P.J. VAN HENNING, TO COME TO PRETORIA FOR DISCUSSION ALSO. HENNING HAD REFUSED, MILLS THREATENED TO CUT OFF FUNDS FOR THE DELEGATION, AND HAD SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN OVERRULED BY MINISTER HENNIE SMIT.

10. DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER PEOPLE IN WINDHOEK REVEALED VARYING PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROCESS MUDGE DESCRIBED. SOME SWAPO SUPPORTERS CONTACTED BEFORE MUDGE'S SPEECH WAS KNOWN TENDED TO MAINTAIN THE PREVIOUS OPINION THAT THE WHOLE TURNHALLE PROCESS WAS NOTHING MORE THAN A SAG CONTRIVANCE, AND THE IDEA OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WAS NO MORE THAN AN EXTENSION OF THE HOMELANDS POLICY. BUT WELL-INFORMED PERSONS CLAIMED THAT

DANIEL TJONGARERO, PUBLICITY SECRETARY FOR SWAPO, WAS
WAVERING AND MIGHT BE ONE WHO WOULD PARTICIPATE IN A MULTI-
RACIAL GOVERNMENT IF IT CLEARLY HAD REAL AUTHORITY.

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TJONGARERO HIMSELF WAS CAUTIOUS. HE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO
CONTACT PETER KATJAVIVI, ALLEGED TO HAVE MOVED FROM LONDON
TO LUSAKA TO REPLACE SHIPENGA AS SWAPO PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICER.
TJONGARERO SAID THERE HAD BEEN SOME DISCUSSIONS LOCALLY
ABOUT WHAT TO DO IF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WERE FORMED,
BUT NO FIRM COURSE HAD BEEN DETERMINED SINCE MUCH
DEPENDS ON THE CONTEXT OF EVENTS. ONE SOURCE WHO CLAIMED
TO HAVE BEEN PRESENT AT A MEETING BETWEEN MUDGE AND
TJONGARERO WITHIN THE PAST TWO WEEKS SAID TJONGARERO "IS
ALMOST CONVINCED THAT MUDGE'S WAY IS THE BEST WAY." TALK
OF OTHER CONTACTS WITH SWAPO IS RIFE BUT UNCONFIRMED, THOUGH
BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATES SAY SWAPO WILL BE INVITED TO
PARTICIPATE BOTH AS AN ORGANIZATION AND IN THE FORM OF
ENCOURAGING OTHER DELEGATIONS TO NOMINATE INDIVIDUALS KNOWN
TO BE SWAPO MEMBERS TO POSTS IN A NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT. MANY
SOURCES SAID IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT SWA PRISONERS DETAINED ON
ROBBEN ISLAND ARE TO BE TRANSFERRED TO SWA AT SOME TIME IN THE
FUTURE NOT FOR POLITICAL REASONS, BUT BECAUSE ROBBEN ISLAND IS
SCHEDULED TO BE CLOSED BECAUSE OF RECURRING MAINTENANCE PROBLEMS.
AMONG THE APPROXIMATELY 30 PRISONERS FROM SWA, ONLY ONE,
TOIVO A TOIVO, IS SAID TO HAVE PARTICULAR POLITICAL
SIGNIFICANCE. IT IS WIDELY THOUGHT THAT ONCE PRISONERS
WERE IN THE JURISDICTION OF ANY INTERIM GOVERNMENT, ALL
WOULD BE RELEASED UNCONDITIONALLY.

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11. EDITOR KURT DAHLMANN OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE NEWS-PAPER APPEARED TO BE INFORMED ACCURATELY AND IN GREAT DETAIL OF THE COURSE OF EVENTS, AND MUCH THAT HE CONVEYED WAS CONFIRMED INDEPENDENTLY BY TWO OTHER WELL INFORMED OBSERVERS. DAHLMANN SAID THAT THE RECENTLY FORMED PRO-SOUTH WEST AFRICA ORGANIZATION PROSWA WAS ESSENTIALLY A BUSINESS COMMUNITY MULTIRACIAL GROUP SOMEWHAT SIMILAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICA FOUNDATION BUT WITH ONE MOST IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE. IT REPRESENTED THE ECONOMIC BASE FOR AN INDEPENDENT MULTIRACIAL POLITICAL PARTY AND HAD BEEN FORMED SEVERAL MONTHS AGO AT A TIME WHEN THERE SEEMED TO BE A NEED FOR SUCH A PARTY. IF MUDGE WERE NOW TO FAIL IN HIS EFFORTS TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE NATIONAL PARTY, PROSWA WOULD RAPIDLY BECOME PART OF A NEW MOVEMENT. IF MUDGE WERE TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE NP, HE INTENDS TO BREAK WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S NP AT THE EARLIEST APPROPRIATE MOMENT, AND PROSWA WILL PROVIDE THE SECRET

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MONETARY SUPPORT FOR A REFORMED AND RENAMED NATIONAL PARTY. IN THE INTERIM, PROSWA IS PLANNING TWO PROJECTS, ALREADY WELL ADVANCED. ABOUT SEPTEMBER 15 A FOUR-MAN DELEGATION CONSISTING OF MUDGE, HERERO CHIEF KAPUUO, OVAMBO COUNCIL MEMBER KALANGULA (WHO INCREASINGLY IS RECOGNIZED AS MORE TRULY REPRESENTATIVE OF OVAMBOS THAN THE CHIEF MINISTER NDJOBA) AND J. KOZONGUIZI, ADVISOR TO THE HERERO DELEGATION AND A LONDON LAWYER, WILL GO TO DONDON IN AN EFFORT TO CONTACT OAU AMBASSADORS AND "CERTAIN SWAPO ELEMENTS" TO SEEK SUPPORT FOR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. THIS WILL BE FOLLOWED VERY SHORTLY BY A TRIP BY THE SAME OR SIMILAR DELEGATION TO GERMANY AS THE GUEST OF A PRIVATE GERMAN FOUNDATION: DAHLMANN SAID ONE OTTO VON HAPSBURG (OTHERWISE UNIDENTIFIED) WAS MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIS PART OF THE PROJECT. POLCOUNS NOTED THAT DAHLMANN HAD CONSISTENTLY

CHARACTERIZED HIMSELF AS PESSIMISTIC OVER MUDGE'S CHANCES OF GAINING CONTROL OF THE NP, IN VIEW OF THE SUBSTANTIAL OPPOSITION BACKED BY SEVERAL SAG CABINET MINISTERS, YET HERE HE WAS MAKING FIRM PLANS BASED ON SUPPOSITION OF SUCCESS. DAHLMANN LAUGHED AND SAID THAT HIS PESSIMISM HELPED HIM FIND WAYS TO WORK HARDER TO MAKE THE WHOLE THING SUCCEED. IF MUDGE WERE TO LOSE, IT WOULD BE IMPERATIVE TO MOVE RAPIDLY TO FORM A NEW FRONT IN OPPOSITION BOTH TO THE SAG AND TO SWAPO, OTHERWISE THERE WOULD BE A TREMENDOUS RALLYING TO SWAPO WITH THE TURNHALLE DELEGATIONS CARRYING ALL THE IMPORTANT SEGMENTS OF THE COUNTRY WITH THEM, AND THE CONSERVATIVE BLACKS AND WHITE LIBERALS WOULD HAVE NO WHERE TO GO. DAHLMANN SAID THIS POSSIBILITY HAD TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, HOWEVER MUCH HE HOPED IT WOULD NOT OCCUR. COMMENTING ON THE RUMOR THAT DU PLESSIS AND VAN ZIJL MIGHT SECRETLY HAVE AGREED TO MUDGE'S PROPOSALS, DAHLMANN SAID MUDGE HAD EXTRACTED THEIR AGREEMENT TO FULL INDEPENDENCE OF SWA AS A SINGLE STATE BUT NO MORE, AND NO COMMITMENT IN TERMS OF TIME: THE DIFFERENCES REMAINING WERE BOTH SIGNIFICANT AND REAL.

12. COMMENT: ONE MIGHT SUSPECT THAT UNDER PRESSURE OF THE AUGUST 31 DEADLINE, VORSTER HAS CAREFULLY PLOTTED A SERIES OF MOVES THAT WOULD GIVE CREDENCE TO AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT THAT WAS HIS IDEA IN THE FIRST PLACE, BUT WHICH WOULD DIE IF GIVEN HIS OPEN BLESSING. YET THERE ARE MANY
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INDICATIONS THAT THE SEPARATION OF WAYS IS REAL AND THAT MUDGE HAS NOW CONVEYED AN ACCURATE PERCEPTION. MUDGE IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE ADVOCATING A FORM OF GOVERNMENT WHICH UP TO NOW HAS NOT BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO THE NATIONAL PARTY. MUDGE TALKS OF DEALING WITH SWAPO, WHICH VORSTER HAS SO OFTEN THOROUGHLY CONDEMNED. MUDGE PROPOSES A REAL TRANSFER OF CERTAIN POWERS TO BLACKS NOW AND WITHOUT FURTHER RESTRICTIONS, WHICH RUNS COUNTER TO AFRIKANER INSTINCT AND THE PROGRAM ESTABLISHED FOR SWA. MUDGE APPEARS TO HAVE SET HIMSELF ON A DIVERGENT COURSE, AND THIS COURSE IS UNDER VIGOROUS ATTACK FROM VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE SAG BUREAUCRACY AS WELL AS THE NATIONAL PARTY. TWO CRUCIAL TESTS ARE AT HAND: THE BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATIONS MUST REMAIN UNITED ON ANY MOTION CALLING FOR MULTIRACIAL INTERIM GOVERNMENT, OTHERWISE THE WHITE DELEGATION NEED NOT TAKE A STAND. THIS PART OF THE ISSUE SHOULD BECOME CLEAR WITHIN A FEW DAYS. NEXT, MUDGE MUST WIN CONTROL OF THE NATIONAL PARTY. THERE IS ALWAYS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT INTERVENE POWERFULLY TO AVOID A SPLIT IN THE PARTY, WHATEVER THE COST TO THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA, AND TO REASSERT THE CONTROL HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN SO RELUCTANT TO RELEASE. YET MUDGE SEEMS CONFIDENT THAT

HE IS BEING GIVEN A REAL CHANCE.
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